



# VOZ REBELDE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TUPAC AMARU (MRTA)

Nº4

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

JANUARY-FEBRUARY-MARCH 1996



## PERÚ:

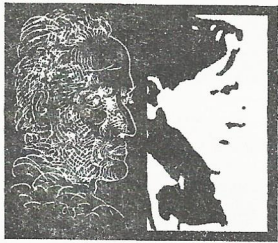
**THE PEOPLE AND THEIR  
GUERRILLA RESIST AND COMBAT  
THE DICTATORSHIP AND ITS  
POLICY OF MISERY AND HUNGER**

International Campaign-

**A RADIO STATION FOR THE MRTA**



# FOR THE CONQUEST OF BREAD AND BEAUTY



In the month of April the anniversaries of two of the greatest revolutionary thinkers Peru has ever produced are commemorated. These are César Vallejo and José Carlos Mariátegui. In these pages and through our own. In the introduction to "Seven Essays of Interpretation of the Peruvian Reality", Mariátegui said: "...My life and my thinking constitute one single thing, one single process and if I hope to be given merit for one thing and I call for it to be recognised it is that I have put all my blood into my ideas."



We have received n° 36 of "Voz Rebelde" (Rebel Voice)- the official organ of the MRTA in Peru. This has been the source of

the articles which are in this international edition.



The second working conference of the MRTA international.

On the 19-20 and 21 of January 1996 there was a meeting in Hamburg of those responsible for the international work of the MRTA. The purpose of this meeting was to share criticism and attempt to make the international solidarity work as affectively linked as possible with the peruvian people and their guerrilla. The meeting was begun with a greeting from the National Directorate of the MRTA and there then followed an analysis of the political situation in Peru and the world. Finally we considered the work and experiences of our affiliates in the countries where we have a presence. We concluded with the passing of a plan, which included the convoking of a "Conference against neo-liberalism, solidarity and internationalism."

**Politische Berichte**

## Guerrilleros und Kader

Erklärung der Tupac Amaru [Peru]

Die Erklärung der Tupac Amaru (Peru) ist eine politische Erklärung, die die Ziele und die Struktur der Organisation darstellt. Sie betont die Notwendigkeit der Revolution und die Rolle der Kader in der Bewegung.

Die Erklärung ist in zwei Teile unterteilt: der erste Teil beschreibt die Ziele der Organisation, der zweite Teil beschreibt die Struktur und die Aufgaben der Kader.

Die Erklärung ist eine wichtige Quelle für die Kenntnis der Ideologie und der Organisation der Tupac Amaru.

In their edition of the 9. February the paper Politische Berichte, dedicated a full page article to the MRTA. They published the comunicado from National Directorate referring to the events of the 1. December in Lima.

**Vorläufig ruht der Streit Ekuador - Peru**

Nach dem Grenzkrieg vor einem Jahr bleibt der Militärstreit auf beiden Seiten groß

Der Streit zwischen Ekuador und Peru ist ein Grenzkonflikt, der seit mehreren Jahren andauert. Die beiden Länder haben sich in mehreren Kriegen gegenseitig angegriffen.

Die letzten Kämpfe fanden im Jahr 1995 statt. Seitdem haben sich die beiden Länder in Verhandlungen begeben, um den Konflikt zu lösen.

Die Situation ist derzeit angespannt, aber es gibt Hoffnung auf eine friedliche Lösung.

Referring to the border war between Ecuador and Peru, the MRTA denounced its fratricidal character and its being against the interests of both peoples and informed the armies of both countries that if they harmed the civilian population of the area that they would undertake punishment operations.

**Perus „Chino“ stößt erstmals auf stärkeren Widerstand**

Mehrheit der Bevölkerung ist gegen die Privatisierung des nationalen Ölkonzerns Petroperú

Die Privatisierung des nationalen Ölkonzerns Petroperú ist ein Thema, das in Peru viel Aufmerksamkeit erregt. Die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung ist gegen die Privatisierung, da sie die Kontrolle über die nationalen Ressourcen verlieren würde.

Die Regierung hat jedoch die Privatisierung geplant, um den Staatshaushalt zu verbessern und die Wirtschaft zu stimulieren.

Die Privatisierung wird jedoch von vielen Peruanern als Verrat an den nationalen Interessen angesehen.

**Angehörigen Info**

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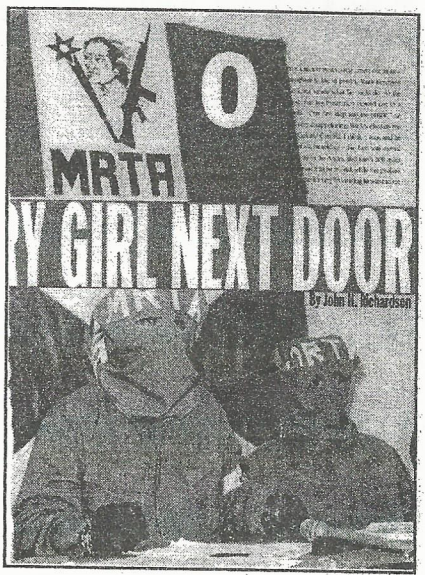
Angehörigen Info, in their 179. edition on the 23 of March echoed the international solidarity campaign against the unjust condemnation of the North American journalist Lori Berenson by a "faceless" military tribunal for "Treason against the father land".

**Ergänzung zu den Verhaftungen in Peru**

Wie wir in der letzten Ausgabe berichteten, ist die US-Bürgerin Lori Berenson Anfang des Jahres zu lebenslänglich von einem Militärgericht verurteilt worden.

Sie ist eine progressive Journalistin, also kein Mitglied der MRTA, wie die peruanische Justiz behauptet.

In den USA gibt es eine Kampagne für Lori, die einen neuen und fairen Prozess fordert. Mehrere US-Zeitungen, u.a. Newsweek, haben über Lori berichtet. (Red.)



The North American magazine New York published a long article by John H. Richardson about the case of Lori Berenson, which has found much solidarity amongst the North American people.





## La República



Due to the events of 1. December and the distortion of information, the National Directorate sent a video and a comunicado to all the media, where we informed public opinion about the objectives of our organisation in attempting to take the Congress, with the exceptions of the newspaper La Republica and the program La Clave on Global television this was not published due to the self-censorship of the media.

## liberación



On pages 4 and 5 of the 742. edition of the Swedish publication Liberación in the first week of January, there as an interview with a representative of the MRTA by the journalist Dick Emanuelsson. In the edition before nº 743 they refer information from La Paz, Bolivia about the government actions, there against MRTA refugees in that country.

## A RADIO STATION FOR THE MRTA AND THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE

Neo-liberalism started coming into effect in Latin America during the seventies. An example of this is Chile, which showed that for this tendency to be put into practice it was necessary to destroy the opposition and popular organisations. This was later corroborated by events in Argentina and Uruguay.

In Peru the application of neo-liberal policies began in the last years of the military dictatorship(1975),but it is with the regime of Fujimori that they have been enacted in their full brutality. This has been due to the existence of an irrational and messianic organisation,which used politico-military actions against the people,which il considered to be the „social mattress“ of the bourgeoisie.

A rough socio-psychological campaign which tries to link the guerrilla with terrorism,selective repression and hard „shock“ economic measures are the weapons of the dictatorship. The Shining Path collaborates with these tactics by attacking popular organisations and assassinating their leaders.

It was only due to their long experience of struggle and organisation that permitted the popular organisations in Peru to react intuitively but rapidly and thus preserve their natural structures. We consider that the survival of the popular organisations and the guerrilla guarantees a confrontation with neo-liberalism.

However,due to the socio-psychological campaign of the government there is a great confusion in certain sectors of the population. The guerrilla and the popular organisations cannot counteract this million dollar campaign. Fliers and the few papers which it is possible to distribute in Peru represent a gigantic effort,but are themselves a mere drop in the ocean of power and the servility which characterises the press in Peru.

An acerted politico-military campaign and an effective use of propaganda to show the objectives and political ends of the revolution are very important,but without a means of communication which reaches the population this is practically impossible. For this reason it is necessary for us to obtain a means of communicating with the masses;to counteract the campaigns of Fujimori against the guerrilla and popular movements.

We want to deal with this task by calling on international solidarity to: DONATE A RADIO STATION TO THE REVOLUTION IN PERU, which is necessary to us at the present time. The struggle against neo-liberalism challenges the people to put an effective solidarity against imperialist aggression into practice and today this is more necessary than ever.

AGAINST NEO-LIBERALISM!

SOLIDARITY AND INTERNATIONALISM!

BREAK THE INFORMATION BLACK-OUT TO ADVANCE THE REVOLUTION!

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### Neo-liberalism and globalisation

# EXTREME POVERTY

*In Latin America, the wave of privatisations, demanded by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, have ended up as a recipe for unemployment, throwing thousands of workers out onto the street, to join what is already an army of the unemployed. The largely unresolved contradictions of our continent have become polarised. We believe that South America is the weak link in the transnational imperialist chain in the era of „globalisation“.*

The political and economic ideas diffused by the imperialist bourgeoisie and their intelligencia, have no other purpose than to annihilate a section of our society. We will attempt to analyse these ideas in a scientific fashion. A task to which the „Progressive and revolutionary“ intelligencia should contribute again, as it seems they have entered into a period of self-censorship some time ago. As a political organisation which has developed in the breast of the people, we will attempt to express these ideas in a language which is as simple as possible, without losing their scientific rigour. This method and our practical actions keep us in the hearts and minds of the people, despite the wishes of many, who are still trying to make themselves believe the cries of victory for Fujimoriism, and others who announced our destruction at every possible opportunity, while apologising for the dictatorship. It is not our intention to fall into using „fashionable terminology“, but we consider it an obligation to clarify concepts, which some people formerly active in „revolutionary“ and „progressive“ circles, starting using, thereby only creating confusion and false hopes in our people. At a time where the so-called „neo-liberal model“ is showing its true self, there have been a series of violent social protests, as in- Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina etc. - which proves that it does not achieve the results they claimed it would, and that they can no longer sell false hope to the millions of poor, pushed into conditions of extreme misery, in Peru, in our Andes and in the whole of the continent.

„The Statement of intentions“ is a program for the neo-colonies.

In the shadows of the „Statements of intentions“

developed by the International Monetary Fund, they are proceeding to privatise the land, natural resources and that which remains of our industry. These „Statements“ are the real programs of the (neo-colonial) governments of Latin America and have been the cause of massive unemployment, poverty, extreme misery and they condemn millions of people to death through starvation, like in Somalia. It is in these conditions that the people of Peru and Latin America, and their revolutionary organisations, must plan a scientific and objective alternative to this murderous and genocidal system.

The Peruvian people has struggled and survived the greatest economic genocide conceived by the ruling classes since the conquest. From 1975 they have been trying to put the neo-liberal plan into action, but the organised response of the masses has impeded this. However, in 1990, despite popular resistance, shock tactics were employed and we are now living with the brutal consequences.

#### Liberalism and Neo-liberalism

The „model“, theoretically originating from the theories of the liberal classics of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, is being applied in the age of globalisation. However, if we emphasise our class differences with the classics of bourgeois economics, that does not mean to say that we overlook their contribution to general economic theory: the theory of work-value, which with other class elements serves as the basis by which the injustice of capitalist economic theory is revealed, where those who create the wealth which circulates in the world, do not have access to it. Aside from the subjective question of justice and injustice, this system created the

revolutionary class: the proletariat, which by its capacity to create wealth and by its form of social organisation within the productive process, is the only one capable of forging a radical alternative to capitalism. The crisis of capitalism is not created by the scarcity of goods, like in the economies before capitalism, but by their excess. From this point of view, the so-called „neo-liberals“, are further from Smith and Ricardo than Marxism; bourgeois apologists, are neither willing nor able to enter into the debate about the „theory of value“, and instead they attempt to reduce the creation of products and wealth to the omnipotent power of capital and the market. Maybe they do not want to know that capital exists as a product of the value accumulated and created by the workers, which is then concentrated and appropriated into private hands. On this point, which is the backbone of liberalism, there is no convergence with the neo-liberals. In the same way, „the free trade“ proposed by the liberals has no connection with the commercial monopoly exercised by the globalisers, or multinational monopolists (imperialists). According to Jonathan Elliot in 1987: „It is calculated that on the world-market level 40% of trade does not go through a „free market“ but through internal trading (within the same companies)“. In 1994 Jules Kagian said in „Middle East International“ that: „In the United States 80% of the income from goods sold abroad, quantified in dollars, does not come from exports but from sales by affiliated companies.“

Globalisation: the new mask of imperialism.

The deification of the market, is nothing other than the product of a development of national capital onto international levels, breaking down its physical barriers. This phenomena was studied at the start of this century and was named „imperialism“ by Lenin. In this way the globalisation of the economy is just the concentration of value created by world society in the multinationals. That is to say the upward fusion of productive, financial and banking capital.

The number of multinational companies has risen from 7,000 in 1970 to 37,000 in 1992; i.e. former national companies have been merging with those from other countries and they maintain a dependance on the largest ones. The economic power of multinational companies is greater than that of many national states. Their sales for example have risen to 5.5 billion dollars, 90% of which are made in the imperialist countries (northern) and just 10% of which are made in the producer countries (southern). The economic power of the multi-nationals gives them an unlimited political power over national states.

A little bit of history.

The development of production, created an antagonistic contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and the socialisation of production itself, between capital and labour, which resulted in many crises and two world wars. These wars allowed the victors to carve up the world markets again, and by so doing, bury their crisis.

At the end of the second world war, the fusion of capital via the multinationals, permitted largely North American capital, through the Marshall Plan, to absorb that which remained of European and Japanese capital. The multi-nationals made the most of the high level of development achieved by labour in these countries. However, despite the fact that the workers were selling their labour in good conditions, due to the influence of competition from the socialist countries, it



## La deuda latinoamericana

### Flujos privados de capital



was possible to transcend neither the antagonistic contradictions between capital and labour, nor those between the socialised nature of production and the private appropriation of its products. Without this insight it would be impossible for us to explain the discontent and strikes in countries such as France.

It maybe that the imperialists, or globalisers (to use the new terminology) have invested huge quantities of money to investigate how to avoid crisis and violent uprisings, and that they have achieved a degree of mind control through the mass media, but they have not succeeded in curbing the discontent, which is growing day by day, and every time it becomes more difficult for them to make people believe that the problems in the north are due to immigrants and the sending of humanitarian aid to the "Under-developed countries" - i.e the south.

In the post-war era, they secured an internal market in the north, which increased in depth but not in extension. This has led to the development of consumerism. This resulted in a bourgeoisification of the working classes, dividing them from their historic task. The reasoning being that he who can satisfy his basic needs has no interest in social change. Even though they are conscious of the fact that their high standard of living comes from the extermination of whole peoples, after the natural resources of these nations have been plundered. The imperialists governments justify this by saying that the peoples of the south are lazy and ignorant. Despite this, they too have been affected by an incessant rise in unemployment, which although it maybe concealed by manipulation of statistics, is undeniably the case and removes an important sector of the population from the consumer market.

Another way by which they attempt to avoid or recover from their crises is by developing regional wars far from their centres, such as those based on religion, racism, territory etc.... These provide excellent markets for weapons.

But something terrible is happening in the world of

increase in the exploitation of the forces of labour and the pillaging of the earth's resources. It is for example, impossible to ignore the fact, that today despite the fact that the forces of production have been doubled many times since the last century, and we have entered the phase of a revolution in information technology and cybernetics, that people still work an eight hour day in the north, and much longer in the south. It is therefore logical that there should be unemployment when one person is forced to do the work of two or three. It is within the capacity of any worker to realise that if the working day is not decreased by at least a third or even a half, then his destiny as redundant is assured. In Latin America, the famous privatisations, demanded by the IMF and World Bank have been nothing more than a cause of unemployment. However, through the level of development of the forces of production achieved in Latin America and through the politisation of our working class, who have been forced into unemployment and are now in transit (including back to their old communities in the Andes), there has been a polarisation of the unresolved contradictions in our continent. We are the weak link in the imperialist chain. Our continent has passed through many ways, we have made many mistakes, from which we believe we have learned and we now propose to construct a socialist alternative, because otherwise, if we stay in the realms of imperialist globalisation, we are condemned to unemployment, misery and extermination.

AGAINST NEO-LIBERALISM AND  
GLOBALISATION!!  
SOCIALISM OR DEATH!!  
VENCEREMOS!!

## The MRTA

# THE MOVEMENT TUPAC AMARU- RESISTS AND CONTINUES THE STRUGGLE!

In the last decade, and particularly from the beginning of the present government, Alberto Fujimori has reported at every opportunity that the MRTA has been defeated. In doing this he has been able to rely on the complicity of the mass media, which has repeated his affirmations in chorus. The socio-psychological campaign of the government has confused many sectors of our people and it was not a few, who believed the claims of the dictator. For this reason the occurrences of the night of the 30 November (1995) in the La Molina Vieja district in Lima, surprised many people, and had strong national and international repercussions.

Due to the openness that characterises our organisation, it is important that our people recognises that we know that we must counteract the socio-psychological campaign of the government. And this is something which those of us, who are immersed in guerilla warfare understand in its full magnitude. We consider that the analysis offered by intellectuals like Flores Galindo, that we have "lost the will to fight", lacks the theoretical and practical insight, which allows a revolutionary organisation to evaluate and transform a situation, like that which confronts the Peruvian people, in an international climate of imperialist domination and revolutionary retreat.

It is of no surprise to anyone that revolutionary movements in Latin America have suffered set backs due to the collapse of the Eastern Block. This has reinforced imperialism and given capitalism the weapons to launch an ideological attack against the revolution, while selling the idea that there is no alternative to capitalism in its most brutal form; neo-liberalism.

Peru is not separate from this international situation and under its influence, the ruling classes, with the regime of Fujimori, have committed themselves to this campaign, which has without doubt confused a large sector of our population and affected the development of revolutionary organisations, particularly our own.

If we add to this the irrational actions of the Shining Path, which have given important weapons to our enemies to discredit the revolutionary struggle, the picture is a complex one. In the face of this situation our organisation has had to make a decision. We do not deny that the blows we have suffered, have contributed to further complicate our situation. But this is not the



# The MRTA

bottom line, the bottom line is that in every revolutionary process you need the capacity to interpret, in its full force, the situation of the masses, because it is that which permits a revolutionary organisation to recover from the blows it has suffered, and, depending on its errors and successes, to incorporate the people into a process of revolutionary political transformation.

It is with this in mind, that the MRTA decided to spend the last few years in a process of organisation and restructuring, in the fortification of our internal structures and the development of political clarification in the midst of the people, as to what the neo-liberalism of the dictator Fujimori really means. It was and continues to be, important that the majority of the Peruvian people realise from their own experience and that of Latin America in general, that the neo-liberal model has failed; that their situation of hunger and misery has not only not improved but has actually got worse. It is necessary, that our people understands that all this campaign about „Peru is on the way up“ is just another farce created by the ruling classes to protect their privileged position. The organised protest of the masses, confirms to us that the situation is changing, that the dictator Fujimori, like many other tyrants, will end up being repudiated by the masses. He will be remembered not as the „man of the year“ as his supporters suggest, but as a dictator, a traitor of the country, who sold off our resources to the international monopolists and sacrificed the majority of the people. History will open the path to truth, and tomorrow true justice will be done by the people and it will be shown that those, who today are villified as „terrorists“ or „traitors of the nation“, are in reality those who really love this country. We want to see our homeland converted into one of justice and dignity. Many valiant sons of the people have lost their

*It is necessary that the majority of the peruvian people should see, from their own experience and that of Latin America that the neo-liberal model has failed; and that their situation of hunger and misery has not only not improved, but has actually got worse.*

lives for these goals, others are confined in prison, but all of this is worthwhile, for tomorrow we will be recompensed with social justice.

It is in this context, that our organisation decided to give a blow, politically and militarily to the regime; a blow which would have had enormous political repercussions and which would have allowed us to

cause a strategic political defeat for the government, striking at a section of its core, represented by the pro-government majority in the congress, which implements its legislative power, completely in favour of the regime, using methods never seen before in any parliament to pass their laws against the people, without any consideration of other political groups represented there. The taking of the congress and the capture of the legislators, fundamentally from this pro-government majority, was a necessary action. It cannot be permitted that there is so much arbitrariness and ridiculing of the people in our country, it cannot be accepted that irresponsibles manipulate our people.

It was only through the use of force that the MRTA thought it possible, to make the government respect the rights of the people, rights which they have violated for so long. We intended to shake the country, but not to create terror. We wanted the government to pay attention to the wishes of the people.

Logically one of our demands was to be the liberation of our prisoners; the dictatorship must realise this: the struggle for the liberation of our prisoners is a moral obligation and in this we do not differentiate between combatants and activists—they are all valiant.

The action was perfectly possible, because our morale was and will remain higher than that of those who use arms to protect a system, which acts unjustly even towards them. We made a mistake and the plan failed. We regret this, but our objectives and our struggle continue, and will do so while there is still hunger and misery and our prisoners remain incarcerated.

The dictator is happy and savours his „victory“, but what he couldn't hide from the eyes of Peru and the world, are the scenes which millions of people saw on their televisions from the 30 November and 1 December 1995. The confusion and desperation of 600 members of the police and armed forces in the face of a handful of Tupac Amaru combatants, who showed decisiveness, moral force and dignity. Certainly the million dollar campaigns of the government, via the mass media, to discredit us, will attempt to remove the images of the members of the Movement Tupac Amaru blazed on the memories of the people, but they only do this out of fear that the truth will get out. It does not surprise us that the media comply in this, the fear of redundancy or imprisonment for „making apologies for revolutionary groups“, is great and a form of self-censorship has developed, but the class struggle and the crisis of the system will undermine this. For this reason the MRTA has never attacked members of the press, we try only to awaken their consciences.



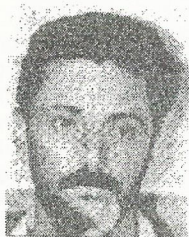
We want to end this by reiterating that the MRTA remains in force and that the tasks set by the National Directory are our order of the day; the internal restructuring of our organisation and the reactivation of the popular movement, today more than ever before. Already the people are beginning to confront the dictatorship and feel that the time has come to say „No“ to the regime and its savage neo-liberal economic system. We are a part of this people and we are and will remain in the forefront of their struggle. MRTA has not and will not give up and you can be sure that for every combatant, who has been killed or imprisoned, „...others arms will reach out to take up arms.“ as Che Guevara once said.

There is only one truth here and that is that neo-liberalism and its imposer Alberto Fujimori will fail. And in the end it will be the people who writes its own history, which will, no doubt, demand much struggle and sacrifice.

The failed taking of the congress is one chapter more in the history of the struggles of our people; the men and women, who were imprisoned for these actions, are serving their time in the knowledge, that they did their duty. We reaffirm our commitment to them and all the other comrades who are now in prison—we will never abandon them.

¡CON LAS MASAS Y LAS ARMAS...  
PATRIA O MUERTE...  
VENCEREMOS!





## por la vida, la integridad física y mental de VICTOR POLAY, MARIA CUMPA. PETER CARDENAS, MIGUEL RINCON y demás presos políticos del Perú.

Sr. Presidente de la República de Perú.

Sr. ministro del Interior de Perú.

Nosotros, muy preocupados por la situación de los derechos humanos en el mundo y en particular en el Perú, pues, llegan noticias alarmantes, como por ejemplo que el Sr. Victor Polay, la Sra. María Cumpa, y el Sr. Peter Cárdenas se encuentran completamente aislados e incommunicados. Que su salud está muy afectada. Que en ésta misma situación se encuentran los demás presos recluidos en CARCELES MILITARES Y DE ALTA SEGURIDAD. Estos hechos no son compatibles con la aspiración democrática del mundo y pedimos por la vida, la integridad física y mental de los presos políticos en el Perú

Nombre : .....  
Dirección: .....  
Firma: .....

(Nota: si decides enviar esta carta, con el texto que te proponemos, la dirección a enviar es: Sr. Alberto Fujimori Fujimori. Presidente de Perú. Palacio de Gobierno, Plaza de Armas, Lima - Perú.)



**Elizabeth Ochoa Mamani**, militante del MRTA, fue detenida en la ciudad de Cochabamba, Bolivia, en compañía de sus hijos Melisa y Ernesto (4 y 2 años). Actualmente se

encuentra reclusa, contrariamente a lo ordenado judicialmente, en celdas del Comando Departamental de la Policía, sede de gobierno de La Paz, en total incommunicación, no permitiéndosele el derecho a la defensa, por esta razón, según informes periodísticos bolivianos, se ha declarado en huelga de hambre, exigiendo se le levante la incommunicación y se le traslade a las cárcel del Centro de Orientación Femenino (COF), así como se le permita el derecho a la defensa. En solidaridad con esta petición de Elizabeth Ochoa Mamani, también han entrado en huelga de hambre los peruanos, también militantes del MRTA, Juan Caballero Velázquez, Martín Serna Ponce y Justino Soto Vargas y, los integrantes de la "Comisión Néstor Paz Zamora" Dante Huamán y Julio Acasigüe, presos en la cárcel de Chonchocoro.



Lori Berenson



Nancy Gilvonio

### ¡ LIBERTAD PARA LORI BERENSON Y NANCY GILVONIO CONDE!

Nancy Gilvonio, fue detenida cuando acudió a una cita con Lori Berenson, la tarde del 30 de noviembre de 1995. Las dos han sido condenadas a cadena perpetua, por "traición a la Patria"; en un proceso sumario, por jueces militares sin rostro. En un proceso totalmente viciado, que viola las mas elementales normas jurídicas y los DDHH. Está claro que sus "JUICIOS" son políticos, en sus personas se quiere condenar al Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru. El delito es: denunciar un sistema injusto que condena a millones de hombres, mujeres y niños a morir de hambre. De la misma manera se encuentran presos Victor Polay Campos, María Lucero Cumpa y otros militantes, amigos del MRTA o de sus militantes.

Lori Berenson ciudadana norteamericana, es periodista y activista por la paz y los DDHH. Es ésta práctica social, la que la llevó a comprender que no podía hacerse complice, del genocidio que significa la aplicación del modelo "neoliberal", en los países "pobres", como el Perú. Como periodista inicio una investigación, para verificar si era cierto como decía el gobierno Fujimorista que el Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru era una organización terrorista. En sus indagaciones llegó a apreciar y amar la profundidad del sentimiento y la belleza multifacética de la música, el arte y la historia de nuestro sencillo y milenario pueblo, ha llegado según sus palabras a amar a nuestro pueblo. Y compró que el MRTA no es una organización terrorista, y que existe por parte de estado una violencia institucionalizada. Creemos que toda persona con algo de sencillez podría amar a nuestro pueblo, pero Lori Berenson además se atrevió a denunciar todo esto con valentía, aunque ello le costo la cárcel y una absurda condena a cadena perpetua, por "traición a la Patria".

Nancy Gilvonio Conde, es madre de dos niños de 9 y 2 años de edad; son frutos de su amor con Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, miembro de la Dirección Nacional del MRTA. Nancy es militante del MRTA, y su "delito" es haber apostado, como otras mujeres y hombres concientes, por un proyecto que libere al pueblo del hambre. Un proyecto alternativo al neoliberalismo, que desarrolle la capacidad

comunitaria y colectiva tendiente a resolver en primer lugar las necesidades elementales de toda la población y no las necesidades de una economía de mercado, que nos condena a la miseria extrema, succionando nuestras riquezas y nuestra propias vidas.

Iniciamos esta campaña para exigir la libertad de las miles de compañeras Loris y Nancys que sufren prisión por sus ideas, por la libertad de todos los presos políticos, por el cese a la persecución de los niños de Nancy Gilvonio y otros niños y familiares de presos y perseguidos políticos.

¡ LIBERTAD PARA LAS MUJERES PRESAS POR SUS IDEALES !  
¡ LIBERTAD PARA TODOS LOS PRESOS POLITICOS !



## THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TUPAC AMARU (MRTA)

The national committee of the MRTA directs the following declaration to the international community with the intention of diffusing the truth as to the events which occurred in Lima between the 30. November and 1. December of last year, culminating in the imprisonment of a score of MRTA activists.

Considering that:

- \* Since the autogolpe (coup d'etat) of 5. April 1992 Mr. Fujimori and the Peruvian armed forces have been implementing a dictatorship with repressive measures designed to destroy the popular and guerrilla movements present in the country.

- \* One such measure was the so called „Law Of Repentance“ which resulted in the treachery of certain former MRTA affiliates, such as Cistero Garcia Torres „Ricardo“ and Andres Mendoza Del Aguila „Grillo“. One consequence of this betrayal was that the state intelligence service were able to gain an insight into some of the internal structures of the MRTA.

- \* 12 years of state terrorism and the brutal shock tactics of the present government, had caused set backs within the worker's and popular movements, which resulted in the latter having to undertake a strategic withdrawal.

- \* The dictatorship initiated a drastic propaganda campaign against the popular and guerrilla forces with the objective of slandering them with the association with the Polpot-style actions of the Shining Path (PCP Sendero Luminoso) and the trafficking of narcotics. Furthermore, it was claimed later in the campaign that the MRTA had been destroyed.

As a response the National Committee of the MRTA made the following resolutions:

- \* To temporarily scale down the political and military structures of the Movement in an ordered fashion with the intention of regrouping and avoiding further incursions of the security forces.

- \* Fortify and regenerate the internal structures of the party and associated popular organisations, in the interests of which activists and structures in the urban and rural areas from which we had temporarily withdrawn were left „sleeping“.

- \* Develop the strategy of armed propaganda as a means of accumulating new forces and inspiring the people with confidence in their own power.

These decisions, which were undertaken in a disciplined and considered fashion, generated a disconcerted reaction in certain sections of the population and intelligentsia, who in some cases went

onto to believe the declarations of the government that the MRTA had disappeared.

On the nights of the 30. November and 1. December the fire of machine guns broke the silence of the night, the information black out and the myth of the „Pacification of the country“, which

the dictatorship had been presenting as one of its greatest triumphs. The confrontation took place in the „Molina“ district of Lima and the participants were a handful of MRTA militants, armed with rifles, grenades and their raw dedication, against 600 officers of the military and police forces armed with the amphibious combat vehicles of the marines, helicopters armed with artillery and tanks. Despite their material superiority, the state forces clearly suffered from confusion and demoralisation.

Since this event certain sections of the media have been publishing distorted information, including conjectures that this police action was the product of an infiltration of the MRTA by the intelligence forces. This is not the case, as the MRTA will demonstrate as part of our policy of openly acknowledging both our successes and our mistakes.

In the first place the MRTA makes the declaration that our organisation has no links with the trafficking of narcotics. As was acknowledged by the present government in a radio declaration made

by the Foreign Office Minister Efraim Goldenber on Spain's „Radio Exterior“ in December 1994. Secondly, in the last two and a half years our organisation has

been fulfilling the resolutions of the National Committee, which has led to the incorporation of new combatants and activists. These new members have been going through a process of training and

preparation in bases in both rural and urban areas. The safe house located in the Alameda Del Corregidor in La Molina, Lima was such a training site. It was also a designated base of Special forces of the EPT-Popular Army Tupac Amaru (part of MRTA), members of which

were set to carry out an occupation of the Congress of the Republic while it was in session. The intention of this action was the liberation of political prisoners held in Peru's Maximum Security Prisons. The members of the congress would have been taken as prisoners of war and have enjoyed the respect of their human rights, implicit to this status. They would have been liberated when the government acceded to the following popular demands:

- the ending of the „amnesty“ for members of government death squads and similar terrorists of the state.

- the re-establishment of fair labour conditions and trade union rights.

- An end to the „Ley de tierras“ (land law) which has resulted in the seizure of land from the most vulnerable. Defense of peasant communities.

- An end to the government's neo-liberal economic policies, expressed in the „Carta De Intención“ (statement of intention).

- Rejection of the privatisation of state industries (which has led to huge and sudden

unemployment).

- No more intervention in the universities.

- Release of imprisoned activists and guerrillas.

During a report by the „journalist“ ELSA URSULA PICON on the Panorama program of 17. December 1995, it was claimed maliciously that the intention of the MRTA was to massacre the members of the congress and commit suicide. We reject this absurd claim which merely goes to show the lack of objectivity and sincerity from someone who, but a few years ago claimed to be a committed and progressive reporter for the left journal CAMBIO („CHANGE“-lima).

The fulfillment of this plan failed due an error, for which we as the National Committee accept responsibility, which can be explained as follows. It was necessary to co-ordinate this action with units of urban guerrillas. The commando Miguel Rincón was entrusted with contacting the base in question, despite the fact that two years before he had been under state vigilance. Rincón believed mistakenly that he had broken the sophisticated surveillance of the Dincote (Peruvian Secret Service) and it was a result of this error that he led them to the base in question. Having identified Rincón the police proceeded to arrest the activists who were standing outside the house and went on to try and enter the house itself immediately with the intention of detaining Rincón. The government claim that they had been following Rincón for between six months and a year is disproved by the fact that they tried to enter the house with only 15 officers, believing only he was inside. This can only show that the police had no idea as to the intended operation, or the quality and quantity of combatants present in the building. The first assault was repelled and their followed 11 hours of intense combat, during which our members were able to contact the International Red Cross, the press and the priest Juan Gallegos, who acted as mediators in the negotiation of a dignified cease fire.

The battle of La Molina showed that: Morale in the MRTA is high, despite a military set back there was a political and moral victory in the eyes of the people. That the MRTA and the Peruvian people are still fighting and we will never forget our imprisoned brothers and sisters. We reaffirm our right to liberate imprisoned guerrillas and political activists, and to struggle for the freedom which our people so deserves.

CON LAS MASAS Y LAS ARMAS, PATRIA O MUERTE... VENCEREMOS!

MRTA National Committee





# SPECIAL

An account of the military actions of the MRTA in the last year

*The official press has been hiding the politico-military actions of the MRTA. In this edition we will give a resume of the actions of the guerrilla front in the central jungle „Juan Santos Atahuallapa“.*

During the war with Ecuador the guerrilla units stopped military actions against the armed forces. However, they remained alert in case of aggression from the Ecuadorian army against the populations of Jaén and Mainas. The Popular Army Tupac Amaru (EPT) will act against any bourgeois army which attacks the civilian population and its organisations, caught in a conflict originated to rob us of our resources by both Peruvian and Ecuadorian governments, under the false banner of protecting national sovereignty.

Nevertheless, the violent repression of the Peruvian armed forces against peasants in the guerrilla areas : La Florida, José Olaya, Pueblo Libre, Shory Amauta and others forced the MRTA to enforce punishment operations.

On the 15 March 95, at 15.30 the guerrilla unit „Edgar Lopez Bastidas“ penetrated the anti-subversive base at La Florida destroying watch posts and demolishing part of the complex with explosives. In this action the armed forces suffered 14 casualties, 6 of which were fatal and the MRTA captured 12 FAL rifles and 11 loaders. Comrade Fredy died valiantly in this action. The government and press denied this action and the armed forces told the families of the missing soldiers that they had deserted.

On the 17 March at 17.00 the EPT called a

public meeting in the anex of Shory, where a few days before the Fujimorista army had forced the inhabitants to form Rondas (civilian patrols), giving them seven rear-loading rifles. The EPT called the people not to allow themselves to be used as a canon fodder, for those who try to starve us, act with cowardice to the guerrilla units, and try and divide the people.

On the 23 of April a member of police intelligence was killed in an ambush near Eneñas-Villa Rica by MRTA.

On the 24 of April a patrol of the PNP which came to recover the body was ambushed between Eneñas and Villa Rica. They suffered one dead and two injured. The officer in charge fell down in fear.

Between the 26 April and the 13 May of 95 the army mobilised 15 patrols in an anti-subversive action called „Plan Surco“.

On the 8 of May at 12.00 two patrols of the army encountered two guerrilla units of the MRTA near Túpac Amaru. They lost two men injured.

At 14.00 a unit of the EPT skirmished with an army patrol near Eneñas, neither side suffered casualties.

On the 9 May at 10.00 two patrols of the armed forces skirmished with two units of the EPT near Pueblo Libre. Again there were no casualties and the EPT withdrew while keeping permanent vigilance on the patrols.

At 18.00 they attacked the two patrols, who were making camp near Los Angeles Uiriki. They suffered two casualties; one nco and a soldier. The skirmish continued until 21.00, when the EPT retreated. The armed forces tried to use the peasants as a human shield by hiding in their houses.

ON the 10 May-17.30, near Camonashary, two army patrols were attacked causing them one death and one serious injury. The decisive attack of the EPT caused them to break ranks and run, stealing donkeys from the village.

ON the 11, 12, and 13 May the army began to retreat from the guerrilla area, with their mission to destroy the EPT a complete failure.





On the 29 May - 19.00 a unit of the EPT skirmished with two army patrols causing them 6 dead and 2 injured. In this action comrade David died fighting valiantly.

On the 10 June - 4.00 In the locality of Miricharo 3 army patrols skirmished with one guerrilla unit. There were casualties on both sides. Comrade Beltrán lost his life in this action.

On the 15 June in the anex of Miricharo, two functionaries of the ministry of agriculture were intercepted. Having conversed with them and explaining the action, the EPT confiscated their jeep which was property of the ministry.

IN July the Fujimorist army made several actions using the so called „Heros of the frontier“ (from the recent war with Ecuador). This resulted in another complete failure.

On the 22 of July 18.30 guerrilla units attacked two army patrols in the anex of Canñachary, causing them one death and one injury.

On the 23 of July-at 12.00 in Pueblo Libre two army patrols were attacked. There were no casualties.

14.00 the same patrols were ambushed at the exit of Canñachary causing them 3 injuries.

16.00 The patrols received arial support and proceeded to rocket the houses of the peasants. The guerrilla unit employed heavy fire against the helicopters, damaging one of them and causing them to leave the patrols unprotected.

On the 24 of July-20.00 six patrols of the armed forces, afraid of being ambushed, concentrated in the anex of Los Angeles to be evacuated by helicopters, where they were attacked by militia.

ON the 25 of July 6.00 guerrilla units locate and surround these patrols.

At 10.00 the EPT started the attack against the soldiers who were being evacuated in helicopters. Various soldiers were injured and one helicopter was damaged. The chief and

his escort left the scene abandoning the rest of them.

The „heros of the frontier“ retreated without glory, putting an end to this episode.

On the 3 August 95-14.00 An army patrol is attacked in the anex of Camonashary causing one injury.

On the 15 of August the army tried a new tactic. This consisted of putting three or four patrols into the field together, using one as bait and hiding the others in waiting.

On the 17 of August 12.00 there was a skirmish between two army patrols and one guerrilla unit between Pampa Camona and Pampa Azángaro, causing them one injury.

16.10 another skirmish at Pampa Azángaro, caused the army another two injuries.

18.30 in the anex of Pampa Azángaro, two guerrilla units confront two army patrols, causing them one death and one injury.

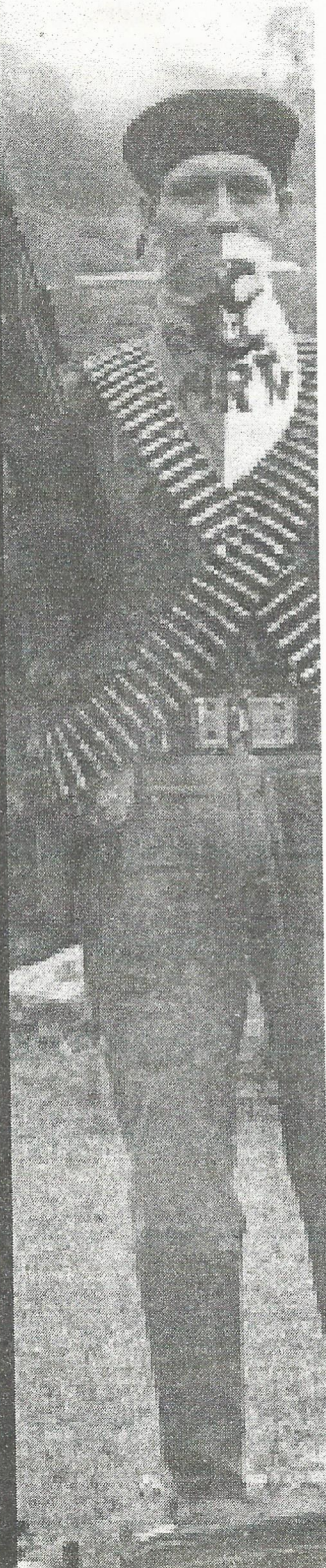
On the 19 of August at 4.30 guerrilla units attack the anti-subversive base in La Florida.

10.00 Guerrilleros attack three army patrols in Pueblo Libre.

On the 6 of September 95-11.30 the guerrilla squadron „Comrade Sanchez“ ambushed some army patrols on the stretch between La Florida and Puerto Yurinaki with a Kleimor anti-personal mine, causing them 11 dead and 4 injured, who were transported away by peasants. As is usual the bourgeois press only reported one death and one injury. 19.30 the anti-subversive base in Alto San Juan with an RPG-7 and rifle fire from the guerrilla squadron „Juan Romero“-comrade David, destroying the command post and causing them 4 deaths and 6 injuries, including an nco.

The military high command responded to the demoralisation of their soldiers by organising some haphazard counter actions to try and stop the EPT's activities.

ON the 8 of September 13.00 between Palma Pampa and Alto Pichanki, a patrol of the







army and an EPT unit skirmish, resulting in one soldier being gravely injured.

17.00 in Miricharo two army patrols of the army are attacked causing them one injury.

On the 9 of September at 11.30 the soldiers from the action on the day before tread on a mine laid by the EPT, causing one death and several injuries. On the 12 the patrols retreat and are attacked by the EPT causing them various injuries.

On the 17 of September the governor and sub-mayor of Pichanki are detained by the EPT on charges of corruption in Pampa Camona. Despite heavy pressure from the police and army, they remain for a week with the guerrilla.

On the 21 of September the two detainees are found to be innocent and are released to the ecclesiastical authorities in a public meeting in Miricharo, due to pressure from the church, the Red Cross and members of their families. During the meeting the released officials denounced:

-acts of corruption in Pichanaki by the Peruvian army, the mayor, the judge and some business men, who have enriched themselves by the robbing and dismantling of the local hospital.

-that the „Association of television channels“ is the object of intimidation from the armed forces, to silence the truth of the actions by the MRTA.

-the permanent violation of the human rights of the peasants.

and they thanked the EPT for treating them respectfully.

With these actions the MRTA showed once again that while there is hunger and misery the struggle will continue until victory:

**NI RENDIDOS NI VENCIDOS  
PATRIA O MUERTE...  
VENCEREMOS!!**

A special forces unit of the EPT and comrade Miguel Rincon, defended their position with honour and kept their dignity while being detained. The guerrilla units of the central detachment have made the following politic-military actions:

On the 3 of December 1995 the anti-subversive base in Sanchirio was attacked causing one death and one injury.

At the same time a temporary base in Sanchirio Palomar was attacked by a guerrilla unit causing one death and one injury.

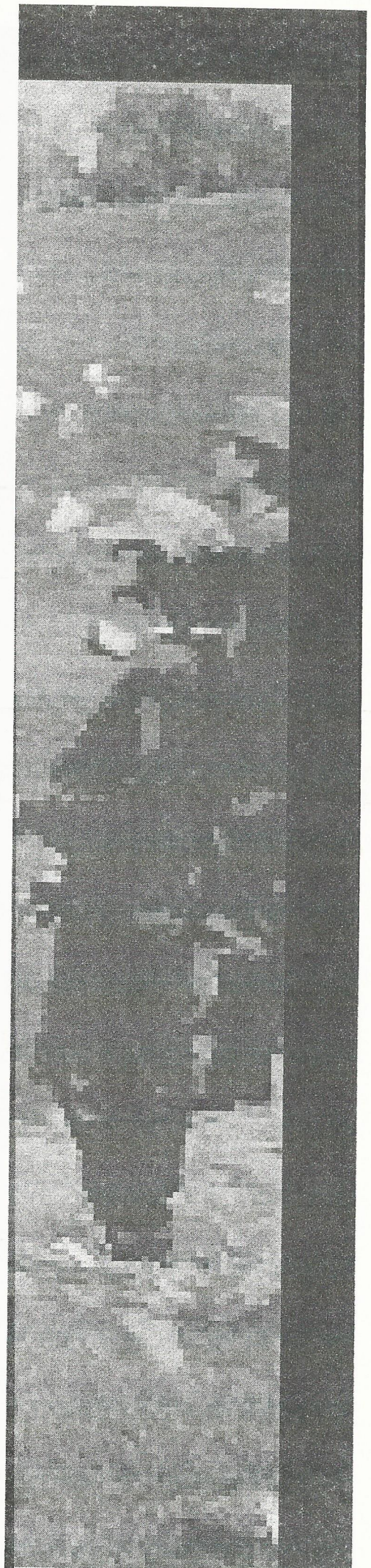
On the 5 of December 1995 an army patrol was ambushed near Villa Rica, using a mine, causing then the following casualties: 5 dead and 6 injured. Another patrol was ambushed at the exit of Villa Rica, causing one injury (to an officer) and one death




On the 22 of December 1995 at the exit of Santa Ana a police patrol was ambushed without causing casualties.

On the 25 of December 1995 militia units attacked the house of the ex-mayor of Pichanki, due to corruption and collaborating with the armed forces in the violation of the human rights of unarmed peasants.

On the 9 of January 1996 3 km from Villa Rica an army patrol is ambushed causing them one death.







From the 10 of January the National Directorate of the MRTA and the high command of the EPT took the decision to initiate a process of political strengthening, increasing the areas of influence of the guerrilla. To this end we have been instigating public assemblies to explain our struggle and our objectives, while encouraging the population to incorporate themselves into the struggle for a state with social justice.

**NI VENCIDOS NI RENDIDOS  
LA LUCHA CONTINUA!!!**

